

WORKSHOP

Ditransitive constructions in a cross-linguistic perspective

held in connection with *Syntax of the World's Languages VI (SWL6)*

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convened by

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ABSTRACTS

Issues in lexical and syntactic typology of ditransitive constructions

ANDREJ L. MALCHUKOV

This talk (based on a joint work with Martin Haspelmath and Bernard Comrie; Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2010) examines lexical preferences in the ditransitive domain, that is preferences of semantic ditransitives (featuring Agent, Theme and Recipient arguments) and related verbs for certain constructions. In particular, it will be discussed how alignment preferences for indirective (T=P vs. R), secundative (T vs. P = R), or neutral (T = P = R) alignment extend over the ditransitive domain (see Dryer 1986, Siewierska 2003; Haspelmath 2005 on ditransitive alignment). These issues have not been studied systematically so far in the typological literature. One observation, due to Kittilä (2006), is that 'give'-verbs show a strong preference for neutral alignment (coding through a double object construction), also when compared with other verbs in the ditransitive domain. In a similar vein, Croft et. al. (2001) propose the hierarchy of transfer verbs (give > send > throw) which reflects relative preference of individual verbs for the double object construction in Germanic languages. This leaves open a question what other alignment preferences are manifested by different verb classes in the ditransitive domain and, broader, in the domain of three-place predicates (see Margetts & Austin 2006 for an overview of verb types in this domain). In my talk I address apart from the allative extension (discussed by Croft et. al.), the benefactive (from 'give' to 'build (for)', etc), the malefactive (from 'give' to 'steal/snatch'-verbs), as well as the instrumental (from 'give' to 'hit'-verbs) extensions, and argue that the latter extensions are also gradient. I also show how individual (sub-)hierarchies can be combined into a single semantic map that constrains lexical splits in the ditransitive domain. The paper presents cross-linguistic evidence for the map, as well as addresses some problematic data. It will be argued that counterexamples can be attributed to interfering factors such as verb polysemy or the structural type of the ditransitive (basic vs. derived ditransitives; cf. Malchukov 2013). It will finally be shown that the same map can be used to restrict cross-linguistic variation with respect to other coding strategies (indexing/cross-referencing), as well as predict distribution of applicative markers (also for languages featuring several applicatives).

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Give is not a given

MIRA ARIEL & JOHN DU BOIS

Typological studies of the linguistic encoding of three-participant events are predominantly synchronic, but compatible with diachronic analyses: Margetts and Austin (2007) recognize a "fluidity" between encoding strategies, and Malchukov et al (2010) offer a semantic map. We will focus on discourse-based factors that may shape the grammaticization of dedicated 3-place 'give' verbs. 'Giving' events are said to be cognitively basic, but conceptually complex (involving a giver, a recipient and a transferred object) (Newman, 1996, 1998). Now, if such events are cognitively basic, the verbs that express them should constitute primary/irreducible lexical items. But we argue that *give* verbs may in fact evolve out of a more basic 'put' meaning. Furthermore, given their conceptual complexity, 'give' verbs are expected to be 3-place predicates, but we will show that several begin as 2-place predicates, and it is only via a process of grammaticization that some become 3-place predicates. Our claims are based on analysis of discourse and grammar in Biblical Hebrew, Sakapultek Maya and English. Our in-depth discourse analysis of three typologically diverse languages complements less detailed typological studies of large numbers of languages.

We argue for both a process of semanticization, responsible for the evolution of the 'give' lexical meaning, and a process of grammaticization, which accounts for their status as 3-place predicates. This grammaticization process is constrained by Du Bois' Preferred Argument Structure (1987, 2006), which limits the proliferation of arguments through a soft constraint against more than one core lexical argument per clause. We argue that speakers follow a strategy by which they are able to attain greater expressive complexity (added arguments) without overloading their cognitive processing capacities. Finally, we argue that the semantic change from 'put' to 'give' is triggered by the addition of a grammaticized recipient role. Our findings thus argue against a direct iconic mapping between conceptualization and grammar, stressing the importance of grammaticization processes.

Interpreting language involves both codes and inferences. Grammaticization enhances coding and reduces inferencing, and the more dedicated (monosemous) the linguistic expressions, the lesser the inferencing. For expressing 'giving' events we propose four parameters, each indicating how grammaticized the coding is: (1) Obligatoriness of all participants (as core arguments), (2) Compactness of construction, (3) Recipient marking specialization, and (4) Verb specialization. We also recognize degrees of grammaticization within each parameter.

The obligatory occurrence of all participants as three distinct arguments indicates a high degree of complex grammaticization. In the minimal pair from Sakapultek, 1(a) only encodes the giver and theme. Note that the recipient in (b) is not an argument:

1. a. i tik'ara' x-Ø-aa-r-ya' kan n pwe', (S2)
and then CPL-3.ABS-LAT-3SG.ERG-put remain that hat
'and then he went and gave that hat',
- b. ta' x-Ø-aa-ra-ya' kan l pwe' chanh .
then CPL-3.ABS-LAT-3SG.ERG-put remain the hat to.him
then he went and gave the hat to him. (S23)

Cf. (1) with the English 2(a), which introduces all participants as core arguments.

The more compact the construction which encodes the 'giving' event the more grammaticized it is. The English Double-Object construction (2a) is a compact construction, specialized for transfer events expressed within a single clause (Goldberg, 1995). The Biblical example in (b) divides the arguments across two clauses:

2. a. U--m... and they gave him his hat, (S14)
- b. wa=yiqqah ləhem wə=hemat mayim
And=took.3M.SG bread and=leather.bottle.of water

wa=yyitten	ʔel	hāḡār
and=gave.3M.SG	Allative	Hagar (<i>Genesis</i> 21:14).

'And he took bread and a leather bottle of water and he gave it to Hagar'

Note that once all the participants are encoded as grammatical arguments, we see Preferred Argument Structure at work: The English example only introduces one lexical NP, whereas Biblical Hebrew, which has two lexical NPs, specifically avoids a single compact construction, so that each clause introduces only one lexical NP.

Recipient marking can be more or less dedicated. The recipient can have its unique marker (more grammaticized), or a marker that is only relatively specific (e.g., as beneficiary, affectee or possessor), or quite general, a goal, or a locative (less grammaticized). Marking may be consistent (more grammaticized, e.g., Modern Hebrew *le* 'to') or variable, as the Biblical Hebrew (33) shows (see also the allative in 2b):

3. a. hā=ʔišā ʔāšer nātattā ʔimmāḏi
 DEF=woman that gave.2M.SG with.here.1SG
 'The woman you gave me' (*Genesis* 3: 12).
 b. wā=ʔetten nezem ʔal ʔappek
 And=put1SG ring on nose.2F.SG
 'And I gave you a ring for your nose' (*Ezekiel* 16:12)

Verb specialization is seen in Mod. Hebrew and English, each with a dedicated 'give' verb (*natan*, *give*), but Sakapultek uses the more general, *ya* 'put' for expressing 'giving' events. Biblical Hebrew mostly uses *natan* for 'giving' and *sam* for 'putting', but each is sometimes used for the other function. Even English can mobilize *put* for expressing a 'giving' event. The event in (4) was verbalized as *give* by the majority of the subjects (as in 2a):

4. And one_i of the boys runs back, with the hat, and **puts** it on his_j head (S11).

In sum, while we acknowledge the important relationship between cognition and grammar, we believe it is not direct. The connection is mediated by competition between motivations, expressivity versus processing effort, code versus inference, which is resolved through complex processes of grammaticization. We present a quantitative analysis of the variable frequencies of different strategies for expressing 'giving' events in the three languages to shed light on how different grammatical constructions may emerge. Discourse is where these processes play out, and diachrony is the time scale of their realization.

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Micro- and macroparametric variation in datives: the case of Brazilian Portuguese Case
JULIO BARBOSA & ANA PAULA SCHER & PAULA ROBERTA GABBAI ARMELIN

In this work, we bring light to the debate between micro- (e.g., Kayne, 2005) and macro-variation (e.g., Baker, 2008) approaches by looking at the phenomena of dative constructions in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and the challenge presented by one of its dialects, spoken in the *Zona da Mata* region in the state of Minas Gerais (henceforth MBP), which superficially resembles English double object constructions (cf. (2)). Following Scher (1996) and Armelin (2011), we claim the constructions in MBP, though superficially similar to double object constructions, do not behave like English-type double-object constructions. While it could be easy to confuse MBP/BP variation as macroparametric, we will present arguments towards a microparametric variation, based on Case assumptions. On the other hand, we also present arguments for considering the BP/English variation as macrovariation.

Scher (1996) presents strong evidence against the association between English double object constructions and MBP data. The author shows three strong types of evidence against this association: (a) the absence of the preposition occurs even when the goal argument is not displaced (i.e., placed between the theme and the goal; cf. (2), below), (b) the preposition may be omitted even in null object cases (3) and (c) there can be no passives made from the goal argument (4b). Furthermore, Armelin (2011) shows that constructions in MBP present topic characteristics, which suggests the change in the order of arguments is due to *vP* left periphery displacement (Belletti, 2002, *apud* Armelin, 2011) (cf. (1), (2)). In order to explain the asymmetry in these constructions, two aspects of datives in MBP are essential: (i) the alternation between the prepositions *a* and *para* (both akin to the English preposition *to*), since only verbs that take *a* are able to omit their preposition, and (ii) topic reading for the displaced indirect object is the same with or without the preposition ((1b)-(2)).

Based on strong empirical evidence, we rely on the Distributed Morphology framework (Halle & Marantz, 1993) to claim that no matter what the construction (or language) in case, all dative/double object constructions seem to be derived by the same prepositional structure (P), which is shared by N+N compound structure – a desirable relation if the work of Snyder (2001) is taken into account. However, we follow the analysis in Barbosa (2012), which presents similar semantic behavior between English compounds and N+*de*+N compounds from BP. Barbosa also claims the phonological content always blocks a *compulsory dislocation* effect (comp-to-spec PF movement prior to linearization), consequently blocking any double object-like structures in BP. Considering the variation shown by Barbosa (2012) is (i) strong, (ii) syntactic (i.e., not lexical), and (iii) between distantly related languages, it thus configures a case of macroparametric variation.

As for the data in (2b), we rule them out as double object constructions, since their ambiguity between transfer of location/transfer of possession remains. The absence of the preposition in MBP is due to a microparametric variation between MBP's and BP's Case marking properties, and because of their distinct sets of *Vocabulary Items* (VI): *a* in MBP is underspecified for a [Case] feature, what shows a Case feature is not always obligatory in the P node (5). Yet, there needs to be a VI at P in BP, and the presence of the elsewhere VI *para* is triggered. In BP, *para* will be inserted in nodes where thematic role is unspecified, but Case is present, while in MBP, *a* can only be inserted in contexts where Case is not obligatory, but there is a dative reading (6). This suggests the parameter in (7). Even though MBP's P needs no Case and *a* is Case-defective, there is a need to Case-mark the DP. For the goal+theme order, the lack of Case triggers *vP* left periphery displacement of arguments (Belletti 2002), since whenever P lacks Case, Top/Foc marks the moved element with *default Case* (nominative in BP, cf. Kato 1999); with null Case, which blocks the insertion of the preposition, even though order is reversed. That explains the English-like surface order, but with distinct semantic effects.

- (1) a. A Maria deu [o livro] [para o/ao Paulo]. (BP)
 The Mary gave the book to the/to+the Paulo
 b. A Maria deu [para o/ao Paulo] (topic) [o livro]. (focus)
 The Mary gave to the/to+the Paulo the book
- (2) a. A Maria deu [o livro] (focus) [o Paulo] (topic). (MBP)
 The Mary gave the book the Paulo
 b. A Maria deu [o Paulo] (topic) [o livro]. (focus)
 The Mary gave the Paulo the book
- (3) a. O que ela fez com o retrato? Ela deu o Pedro.
 The what she did with the picture? She gave the Pedro
 “What did she do with the Picture? She gave (it to) Pedro.”
- (4) a. Um livro foi dado para os/aos meninos.
 A book was given to the(pl.)/to+the(pl.) boys
 “A book was given to the boys.”
 b. Para os/aos/os meninos foram dados um livro.
 To the(pl.)/to+the(pl.)/the boys were given(pl.) a book.
 “The boys were given a book.”
- (5) *Dative Vocabulary Items for MBP:*
a: _ [+dative]
para: _ [+benefactive], [+Case]
- (6) *Dative Vocabulary Items for BP:*
a: _ [+dative], [+Case]
para: _ [+Case]
- (7) *The Prepositional Case-marking Parameter*
 Case marking by P is obligatory
 BP = {Yes}
 MBP = {No}

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Dative and Allative recipients in Ossetic ditransitives and beyond

OLEG BELYAEV & MICHAEL DANIEL & ARSENIY VYDRIN

Ossetic allows both Dative and Allative marking of recipients with verbs of giving:

- (1) ras-aχšt-a qašaj tərquš 3m3 =j3 **3ldar-3n** rad-t-a
PV-catch-PST.TR.3SG Q. hare and 3SgEncl.GEN lord-DAT give.PFV-TR-
PST.3SG

‘Qasay caught a hare and gave it **to (his) lord**.’ (Kajtov S.T.)

- (2) čermen ra-jšt-a nomχæd χazəm3t-ə k'uχ-3j 3m3 =j3
Ch. PV-take-PST.TR.3SG list Kh.-GEN hand-ABL and 3SgEncl.GEN
3χšar-m3 rad-t-a...
Akhsar-ALL give.PFV-TR-PST.3SG

‘Chermen took the list from Khazimet’s hand and gave it **to Akhsar**.’ (ONC¹)

(1) involves not so much a physical act of giving as transfer of property (Qasay gave the hare to the lord as an offering), while in (2) we deal with a particular situation of physical transfer where the list does not belong to Chermen and he does not give it to Akhsar into possession. A similar distinction has been described for Nakh-Daghestanian languages (Daniel et al. 2010), where the difference between the Dative and the Allative strategies is described as between construing the act of giving as a property transfer or caused motion, respectively. The same is apparently true in Ossetic, as only the Dative can be used in case no direct spatial transfer is implied:

- (3) n3= **ad3m-3n** / ***ad3m-m3** rad-t-a χ3rinagχwəsaw, χ3rinag-g3n-ž-ət3
1PIPoss people-DAT people-ALL give.PFV-TR-PST.3SG food God
food-do-PTCP-PL
=ta χ3jr3g
CONTR devil

‘God gave **our people** food, and the Devil gave us cooks.’ (Bašity Zælinæ. *Dyuuæ zærdæjy*, 2010)

- (4) farašt 3fšəmə3r-ə š3= χ0-jə **χ3mə3s-3n** / ***χ3mə3s-m3** rad-t-oj
nine brother-GEN 3PIPoss sister-GEN Kh.-DAT / Kh.-ALL give.PFV-TR-PST.3PL
‘The nine brothers gave their sisters **to Khamits** [in marriage].’ (ONC)

This trait of Ossetic could represent a feature that this language has borrowed from the neighbouring Nakh languages. This idea is confirmed by the fact that, like in Nakh-Daghestanian (Daniel in prep.), the addressee in Ossetic is most often marked by Allative:

- (5) w3d χ3rg3fšdard-3j **χ3r3g-m3** zərd-t-a...
then mule far-ABL donkey-ALL speak-TR-PST.3SG

‘Then the Mule spoke **to the Donkey** from afar...’ (ONC)

However, the addressee can also be marked by Dative:

- (6) sə fed-t-oj, wəj q3w-ə **ad3m-3n**
what see.PFV-TR-PST.3PL DemDist[NOM/GEN] village-GEN people-DAT
ra-zərd-t-oj štər diš-3n
PV-speak-TR-PST.3PL great wonder-DAT

‘They told **to the village people** what they saw.’ (Bašity Zælinæ. *Dyuuæ zærdæjy*, 2010)

The difference between the two strategies may be viewed as parallel to the difference between Dative and Allative recipients. In (5) the Mule speaks from a distance, and the speech verb implies a concrete physical act (probably, of loud speech or even yelling), whereas (6) represents a more abstract notion of information transfer.

¹ Sourced examples are from the Ossetic National Corpus (<http://corpus.ossetic-studies.org/en>), unsourced ones elicited. (9) is from the New Testament by the Bible Translation Institute (e.g. at <http://ironau.ru/nf.html>).

Another similarity between Ossetic and Nakh-Daghestanian in the Dative/Lative area concerns predicative possession. In Nakh-Daghestanian languages, permanent possessors are normally expressed by Genitive, while temporary possessors are expressed by essive cases (Daniel et al. 2010). In Ossetic, inalienable possessors are expressed by Dative and alienable possessors by Allative:

- (7) a. **žawər-3n** / ***žawər-m3** iš 3fšəm3r
 Z.-DAT Z.-ALL Exst brother
 ‘Zaur has a brother.’
 b. **žawər-m3** / ***žawər-3n** iš mašin3
 Zaur-ALL Zaur-DAT Exst car
 ‘Zaur has a car.’

At first sight, this may not seem very similar to Nakh-Daghestanian. However, the Dative in Ossetic can be used with adnominal possessors: *žawər-3n je= fšəm3r* (Zaur-DAT 3SgPoss brother) ‘Zaur’s brother’, while the Allative has apudessive functions (Belyaev 2010). It is reasonable to assume that it was through these functions that the distribution in (7) has come about. If we treat the alienable/inalienable distinction as analogous to the temporary / permanent one, then the parallel between Ossetic and Nakh-Daghestanian is rather clear.

However, there are also important differences. For instance, while in Nakh-Daghestanian verbs of physical contact like ‘hit’ mostly take Dative complements, in Ossetic they govern the Accusative just like in other Indo-European languages (8), and, in fact, the Dative is never used for marking Patients.

- (8) 3m3 š3= iw kard-3j nə-c:avt-a alčər-ə **səgar-ə²** 3m3
 and 3PlPoss one knife-ABL PV-hit-PST.TR.3SG bishop-GEN slave-GEN and
 =jən j3= raxiž quš a-χaw-ən kod-t-a
 3SgEncl.DAT 3SgPoss right ear PV-fall-INF do-TR-PST.3SG
 ‘And one of them smote **the servant** of the high priest, and cut off his right ear.’ (Luke 22:50)

Thus the functions of the Dative in Ossetic are mostly restricted to the functions that this case has in SAE languages and which are apparently typical for Indo-European in general, while the Allative has extended uses compared to what we find in SAE (recipient marking, addressee marking, possession marking). This is consistent with the hypothesis that Ossetic has lost the old Dative and replaced it with a new postposition-derived case when the language was still spoken in a predominantly Iranian area, while the Allative has developed much later under Caucasian influence (Belyaev 2010). The system of Ossetic recipient marking, and the functions of Dative and Allative in general, thus came to share common properties with both SAE and North-East Caucasian languages.

In the talk, we will explore the semantic distribution of the Dative and the Allative in ditransitive constructions, with a special emphasis on how this distribution relates to the functions of these cases in other areas of grammar.

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2 Direct objects in Ossetic that are nouns are, in general, marked with Genitive if human and with Nominative if inanimate; animals can be marked in both ways.

Ditransitive constructions in Mansi dialects

BERNADETT BÍRÓ & KATALIN SIPŐCZ

Mansi is one of the most endangered languages of the Uralic language family. It is spoken in Western-Siberia by less than 1000 people, its closest relative is Khanty which is a neighboring language geographically, and both belong along with Hungarian to the Ugric branch of the Uralic languages.

Mansi has four main dialects. The Southern and Western dialects were already disappearing in the early 20th century, while the Eastern dialect had a considerable number of speakers up until the mid-20th century, but is practically extinct by today. The fourth dialect, Northern Mansi, is currently threatened by the process of language shift to Russian, almost all of its speakers are bilinguals. There are considerable differences between the Mansi dialects and they concern each level of the language (they are of phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical nature). (Bíró – Sipőcz 2009)

In our presentation we intend to investigate and compare the ditransitive constructions of Northern, Eastern and Southern Mansi dialects. (As far as syntax is concerned, the Western dialect is the least studied variety of Mansi. Consequently, in the presentation we are not going to discuss data from this dialect.) From the perspective of ditransitive constructions, the main difference among the dialects is the variation in object marking: the Eastern and Southern dialects have an accusative case ending, as opposed to this, there is no accusative suffix in the nominal paradigm of Northern Mansi. The accusative suffix *-m* has a common origin, and historical linguistic studies show that the disappearance of this suffix from the Northern dialect is secondary.

In Mansi there is an alternation of indirective and secundative ditransitive constructions. In the indirective alignment the Recipient is marked by a lative-dative case suffix or with a postposition of a similar function, and in the secundative alignment the Theme is marked by an instrumental suffix in each dialect. However, the Theme of the indirective type and the Recipient of the secundative one are syntactically the objects of the constructions. (Besides verb agreement also plays a role: the verb in subjective conjugation refers only to the subject, in objective conjugation it refers to the object, too. Furthermore both constructions can be passivized.) (Sipőcz 2011)
Cf.

Northern Mansi

(1) *Tānanəl-n* *mān* *jil'pi* *ēriy* *wār-s-uw*
 they-DAT we new song make-PST-1PL
'We made them new songs.'

Northern Mansi

(2) *Nēnan* *am* *śopr-śonaχ-əl* *wāri-jayəm*.
 you(2).ACC I silver-cup-INSTR make-1SG.DU
'I make you (2) a cup.'

It is clear from the examples above that the nominal object is unmarked in Northern Mansi. As opposed to this, in the Eastern and Southern dialects the object can be morphologically marked or unmarked. Cf. the Southern Mansi examples below (similar examples can be found in Eastern Mansi, too).

Southern Mansi

(3) *Lā Vańka uxsal'-xum-mə najar-ən tāt-ās-təl.*
 foolish Vańka copper-man-ACC prince-DAT bring-PST-SG.3SG
 'Foolish Vanka brought the copperman to the prince.'

(4) *Ām noun tolmox tāt-ās-əm.*
 I you.DAT thief bring-PST-1SG
 'I broght a thief for you.'

(5) *Tārəṅ-pū šerkəs tōs-ən hóul'-čăx-əl mou-s.*
 bear-kid eagle mouth-LAT meat-peace-INSTR give-PST.3SG
 'The bear-boy put a peace of meat to the mouth of the eagle.'

(6) *Ām nenän-mi ti eš-əl mou-länəm.*
 I you(PL)-ACC this task-INSTR give-PL.1SG
 'I give you this task.'

According to the Mansi syntactic studies carried out in the last decades, it seems that Mansi syntax is predominantly determined by the information structure. (Skribnik 2001) It concerns mainly the use of active or passive voice, the choice of subjective or objective conjugation, and the word order. Regarding the ditransitive constructions this means that also the alternation of the two constructions is determined by pragmatics: the constituent appearing as the object is usually more topical than the constituent in an oblique case. It means that the Theme in the indirective construction is more topical than the Recipient, and the Recipient is more topical in the secundative type. Former studies have not sufficiently elaborated on the role of the morphological markedness of the object. Research done on Eastern Mansi implies that the accusative suffix on the object may have specifying and emphasizing functions, it completes the verb agreement. (Virtanen 2013:315)

In our presentation we intend to describe the function of the morphological markedness of the object in the Eastern and Southern dialect, and how the same functions are expressed in Northern Mansi lacking the accusative suffix.

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**The relative order of the DO and the IO in Persian ditransitive constructions:
A corpus-base and experimental study
PEGAH FAGHIRI & POLLET SAMVELIAN**

In this paper we present an empirical study on the preferential position of the direct object (DO) in ditransitive constructions in Persian, a SOV language with a fairly free word order. Moreover, Persian is known for its Differential Object Marking (DOM, Lazard, 1982): A definite and/or specific DO is always marked by the enclitic *-rā* (ex. 4) and a DO lacking this mark necessarily has a non-specific reading (ex. 1-3).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---------|------------------|---------|-------------------|
| (1) | Sara | be Nima | ketāb | dād | Bare |
| | Sara | to Nima | book | gave | |
| | 'Sara gave a book/books to Nima.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (2) | Sara | be Nima | ketāb=e | tārix | dād Bare-modified |
| | Sara | to Nima | book=EZ | history | gave |
| | 'Sara gave a history book/history books to Nima.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (3) | Sara | čand | ketāb(=e qadimi) | be Nima | dād Indefinite |
| | Sara | some | book(=EZ old) | to Nima | gave |
| | 'Sara gave some (old) books to Nima.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (4) | Sara | (in) | ketāb=rā | be Nima | dād Marked |
| | Sara | (this) | book=DOM | to Nima | gave |
| | 'Sara gave (this/) the book to Nima.' | | | | |

It is generally assumed by grammars as well as by more recent studies in the generative framework (e.g. Karimi, 2003) that DOM determines the (unmarked) position of the DO: A marked DO can be separated from the verb, while an unmarked DO should be adjacent to it. However, this claim has remained theoretical and lacks data-driven underpinning. We have conducted both corpus-based and experimental studies on the relative order of the DO and the IO in the preverbal domain. Our findings undermine the DOM criterion and additionally shed some light on the ongoing debate regarding the effect of relative length (heaviness) on the preferential constituent ordering.

The preferential order of constituents, including in ditransitive constructions, has been a dominant object of study in psycholinguistic research which try to understand the architecture of the production system. Most prevailing accounts attribute constituent order preferences to accessibility-based production (e.g. Bock, 1982): More accessible constituents tend to be produced earlier in the sentence. This hypothesis is particularly reinforced by the “short-before-long” tendency, e.g. the Heavy NP shift, observed in English (e.g. Wasow, 1997). Meanwhile, data from head-final languages, e.g. Japanese (Hawkins, 1994, Yamashita & Chang, 2001) contradict this view by attesting a “long-before-short” tendency. Building on data from typologically different languages Hawkins (1994) has proposed a processing-oriented distance-minimizing model which predicts an asymmetry between VO and OV languages and accounts for these seemingly contradictory tendencies. Yamashita & Chang (2001), propose a production-oriented account, pleading for the need to consider language-specific differences in sentence production models. 1) English (unlike Japanese) has a rigid word order and require all arguments to be overtly present; 2) The post-verbal domain, unlike the preverbal domain, is more sensitive to formal factors. Therefore, while (preferential) constituent ordering in English is strongly sensitive to the form, it is more influenced by conceptual factors in Japanese. Longer constituents are semantically richer and conceptually more accessible than shorter ones and thus tend to be produced earlier.

Persian data is of special interest in this debate, since Persian is an OV language but unlike Japanese: 1) Persian has prepositions; 2) The nominal domain is head initial and 3) The complementizer precedes the clause. Thus, Hawkins's model fails to explain Persian data (cf. Faghiri *et. al*, 2013, Faghiri and Samvelian, to appear). Yamashita & Chang's account, on the other hand, is built on an argumentation which is also valid in the case of Persian.

1) *Corpus Study*

Our dataset contained 908 sentences of DO-IO-V or IO-DO-V patterns, which we identified manually out of a semi-random sample extracted from the Bijankhan corpus (2,6 tokens manually POS-tagged, <http://ece.ut.ac.ir/dbrg/bijankhan/>). We observe that marked DOs, as predicted by the DOM criterion, have a very strong preference (95%) to be separated from the verb. However, unmarked DOs display more variation: Bare DOs have a strong preference (90%) for adjacency but bare-modified DOs have a more moderate preference (65%) for this position. Surprisingly, indefinite DOs have a clear preference (77%) for the opposite order. Furthermore, the effect of relative length turned out to be significant ($p < .001$) corresponding to the "long-before-short" tendency.

2) *Experimental Study*

We conducted a sentence-completion web-based experiment (with 60 Persian speaking participants) to further study the unmarked indefinite DOs. The experiment results were consistent with the result from the corpus, confirming: 1) The preference (69%) of indefinite DOs to be separated from the verb 2) The "long-before-short" tendency (the preference for DO-IO order varied from 80% when $DO > IO$ to 60% when $DO < IO$). A similar experiment with bare-modified DOs is undergoing, as well as the study of the information structure, which, as noted in several studies (e.g. Karimi 2003, Roberts *et. al* 2009), plays a significant role in determining the word order.

Our results put to question the prevailing hypothesis on the position of the DO. It shows that the relevant criterion is not solely markedness but the degree of determination of the DO (bare and marked DOs occupying the two extremities). Furthermore, our data support the "long-before-short" tendency in OV languages. In line with Yamashita & Chang, we attribute these two facts to the general tendency of more conceptually accessible (i.e. salient) constituents to appear earlier in the sentence. Given that the criterion on the degree of determination conforms to the hierarchy of accessibility, we can say that the more a DO is accessible the more it is likely to precede the IO. Moreover, DOs on the low side of the hierarchy, i.e. bare nouns, tend to merge with the verb, favoring the formation of complex predicates.

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**Ditransitive alignment and referential hierarchies
in Araki, Vanuatu**
ALEXANDRE FRANÇOIS

Since Lazard (1984), referential hierarchies have proven useful in accounting for patterns of differential object marking (DOM) in transitive clauses. More recent studies (Siewierska 1998; Haspelmath 2007; Malchukov *et al.* 2010; van Lier 2012) also show the relevance of such hierarchies in explaining the alignment patterns of ditransitive verbs – namely, the way certain languages treat formally the Theme (T) and the Recipient (R).

Araki, a highly endangered Oceanic language of Vanuatu, not only shows DOM with its transitive verbs, but is also sensitive to referential properties of arguments in its handling of ditransitive alignment (François 2012). Its hierarchy is defined by the combined features $[\pm\text{local}]$ (cf. Andrews 1985) and $[\pm\text{human}]$:

- (1) $[\text{+local}] \text{ human} > [-\text{local}] \text{ human} > [-\text{human}]$

This hierarchy determines the relative ranking of Theme and Recipient: the participant ranking higher will align with Patients – i.e. be treated formally as an object – while the other one is encoded as peripheral (oblique or dative); see (2)–(4). The result is a pattern of regular alternation between indirective and secundative alignment, depending on the relative properties of T and R. I will describe these patterns, and discuss cases of variation.

- (2) $O=$ $pa=$ $vsei$ $\boxed{-a}_T$ $\langle sa-na \rangle_R?$
 2s:I= FUT show -1s.OBJ DAT-3s
 ‘Will you show me to her?’ [indirective alignment]
- (3) $O=$ $pa=$ $vsei$ $\boxed{-a}_R$ $\langle ini-a \rangle_T?$
 2s:I= FUT show -1s.OBJ OBL-3s
 ‘Will you show her to me?’ [secundative alignment]
- (4) $O=$ $pa=$ $vsei$ $\boxed{-a}_R$ $\langle ini-a \rangle_T?$
 2s:I= FUT show -3s.OBJ OBL-3s
 ‘Will you show it to her?’ [secundative alignment]

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Ditransitive constructions in Kurmanji: an inventory

ANNETTE HERKENRATH

For the purposes of the present paper, ditransitive constructions are semantically defined as constructions in which a verb projects, next to a direct object, a recipient argument. Cross-linguistically, the linguistic expression of recipient arguments makes use of formal means such as case-marking, syntactic positions, and the representation of actants on verb forms, among others; see Haspelmath 2005; Siewierska & Hollmann (2007); Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie (2010) for more specific typological classifications.

While in some languages, there are distinctive cases for the two argument roles, Kurdish has a rectus-obliquus case system, such that there is no case distinction usable for indirect objects. Recipient arguments are assigned oblique case under both present tense and past tense alignment (Dorleijn 1996, Haig 2008 on issues of alignment in Kurmanji and in a wider Iranian perspective). Their marking makes use of several additional devices, applied alternatively, in combination with oblique case: a postverbal position (example 1), adpositional constructions (example 2), a specification on the verb indicating the presence of an indirect object (example 3), as well as constructions presenting an indirect object as possessed by an abstract nominal, the latter in the role of a direct object incorporated into a light verb construction (example 4).

- | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-----|-----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. Diçûm | sûkê | li | nav | xelkê | digeriyam, |
| ASP-go.PRS-1SG | market-OBL | PRP | between | people.OBL | ASP-wander. |
| | | | | | PST1SG |
| min | guhê | xwe | dida | <u>sohbetên</u> | <u>wan</u> , ... |
| I.OBL | ear-EZFM | RFL | APS-give. | converation-EZF.PL | DEI.OBL.PL |
| | | | PST3SG | | |

I went to the market and wandered among the people, I listened to their conversations. (Bulut 2005: 12)

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 2. Pirî | caran | dadiket | xwarinxana | leşkeriyê, |
| many | time-OBL.PL | PRF-ASP-fall.PST.3SG | cantine-EZF.F | barracks-OBL |
| kartolên | xaşandî | didizî | û | |
| potato-EZF.PL | boiled | ASP-steal.PST3SG | and | |
| jî | <u>min</u> | <u>re</u> | dihanî. | |
| CRP | I.OBL | CRP | ASP-bring.PST3SG | |

He often went down to the cantine of the barracks, stole some boiled potatoes and brought them to me. (Metê 2001: 10)

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-------------------------|------------------|-------|---------------|---------------|-----|
| 3. Min | di | derbarê | tûtin | û | kişandina | wê | de |
| I.OBL | CRP | about | tobacco | and | draw.VN-EFZ.F | DEI.OBL.F | CRP |
| tu | tişt | nizanîbû, | | lê | jî bo | ku | |
| at all | thing | NEG-know.PAR.PST.COP3SG | | but | for | COMP | |
| ez | jî | bersivêkê | bidimê, | min | lê | vegerand: | |
| I | also | answer-one-OBL.F | SBJ-give.IND.OBJ | I.OBL | PRP-OBL | return.PST3SG | |

I didn't know the first thing about tobacco and how to prepare it, but in order to give him an answer, I answered: ... (Uzun 2007: 55)

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------|------------------|-------------|-----|-----|---------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| 4. Piştî | ku | derî | vebû, | ew | li | ber | derî | xwar | bû |
| after | COMP | door | open.PST3SG | DEI | PRP | towards | door-OBL | bowed | become.PST3SG. |
| û | humdirê | enbarê | | | | | nîşanî | <u>min</u> | da. |
| and | inside-EZF.M | storage room-OBL | | | | | showing-EZF | I.OBL | give.PST3SG |

After the door had opened, he bowed down towards the door and showed me the inside of the storage room. (Uzun 2007: 105)

- | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|----------|------|-------------------|----|-----------------------|
| 5. Wextê | dinya | hebekî | gewr | dibû, | ez | radibûm, |
| time-EZF.M | world | a little | grey | ASP-become.PST3SG | I | PRF-ASP-get up.PST1SG |

min	xwe	tev	dişidand,			radihişt
I.OBL	RFL	all	ASP-tighten up			PRF-ASP- pick up
bawûlê			xwe	û	diçûm	ber otobusê.
suitcase-EZF.M			RFL	and	ASP-go.PST1SG	towards car-OBL
Lê	min		bala	xwe		didayê
but	I.OBL		attention-EZF.F	RFL		ASP-give.PST-IND.OBJ
<u>ku</u>	jî	<u>min</u>	<u>pê</u>	<u>ve</u>	<u>kes</u>	<u>tune</u> <u>ye</u> .
COMP	CRP	I.OBL	CRP	CRP	person	nonexist COP.PRS3SG
Li	ser	bawûlê		xwe		rudiniştim...
PRP	top	suitcase-EZF.M		RFL		PRF-APS-sit.PST1SG

When the world was becoming a little grey, I got up, tightened up, picked up my suitcase, and went to the car station. But I paid attention to the fact that there was nobody around except me. I sat down on my suitcase... (Bulut 2005: 9)

With respect to this overall picture, the following questions arise:

1. What determines the choice between these options? Are there any clear-cut semantic differences between them and is it possible to put these into a coherent system?
2. Is it possible to draw a clear-cut semantic distinction between recipient arguments receiving case directly from the verb and others that are complements of adpositions? Can the formal distinction be related to an argument versus non-argument status?
3. What about the suffixal encoding of indirect objects on the verb? Can it be argued to be some kind of indirect object agreement or should it be analysed as a clitic? The present observation is that it hardly ever co-occurs with any indirect object represented as a full NP or as a deictic expression, but there seem to be exceptions (example 5). On the other hand, unlike the deictic expression that might serve as a candidate for its derivation, it displays no gender distinction.
4. As the three formal options mentioned can be found in both recipients and directives, they cannot be analysed as pertaining to ditransitivity alone, but rather as serving in a wider functional range. The form-function relation thus does not seem to be a very clear-cut one looked at from this side either.

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Ditransitive Constructions in Tāti

RAHELEH IZADI FAR & MOHAMMAD RASEKHMAHAND

Tāti belongs to the Tatic family of Northwest Iranian languages and is spoken in north-west of Iran. Although Tāti dialects are threatened or highly endangered, most of them are undocumented or poorly described. Stilo (2010) is one of the few studies on ditransitive constructions in an Iranian language, Vafsi. Stilo (ibid) has mentioned that Vafsi, Gilaki, Esfahan Jewish, Gazi, Caucasian Tat and Persian, despite being in one Iranian group, differ from each other in their ditransitive constructions. Our intention here is to elaborate upon the structures of Tāti, in more detail as a contribution both to the understanding of the typology of ditransitive constructions and to the exploration of the rich field of Iranian linguistics.

As Tāti has many dialects with morphosyntactic differences, the Esfarvarini dialect of Tāti has been chosen for the present study. Esfarvarini is spoken in Esfarvarin which is in Qazvin province in Iran and its population was 12615 in 2012. This dialect is one of the southern dialects of Tāti in Yar-shater's (1969) grouping. The material for this study was collected from fieldwork on Esfarvarini in 2013 and 2014. The fieldwork consisted of elicitation of data from native speakers of Esfarvarini. The ditransitive constructions analysis in this research follows Malchukov et al (2010)'s analysis of ditransitive constructions.

Ms. Sg.	Dir. nil	Pl. Dir.	-end
Ms. Sg.	Obl. -e	Pl. Obl.	-o/u(n)
Fem. Sg. and Obl. -a			

General features of Esfarvarini are 1) the distinction of feminine gender in nouns, pronouns and verbs, 2) the retention of an oblique case in nouns and pronouns, 3) the use of the same pronouns as possessive and oblique pronouns, 4) split tense-based alignment system, and 5) differential object marking (DOM) which marks just definite objects with oblique case markers (Yar-shater 1969). The Esfarvarini case endings are:

In Esfarvarini, direct objects (patient (P) or theme (T)) in transitive and ditransitive sentences are treated alike, i.e. the direct objects are marked with oblique case marker in both present and past sentences with the difference that in sentences containing past stem verb, P or T is always the host for the person agreement marker clitics referring to A and as a result, the oblique case endings on P or T can hardly be distinguished in these sentences, except for the pronouns which have irregular forms and the plural nouns which have different case endings; e.g.

- 1) a. az ahmad-e minem.
1sg:Dir PN-Obl.Ms see:1sg
"I see Ahmad."
- b. āpāra ahmad čemen=eš bind.
last year PN:Dir.Ms 1sg:Obl=Cl:3sg see:Pst
"Last year, Ahmad saw me."
- c. hasan ā gandom-un=eš undā ahmad-e.
PN:Dir.Ms those wheat-Pl:Obl=Cl:3sg give:Pst PN:Obl.Ms
"Hasan gave the wheat (Pl) to Ahmad."

Esfarvarini has two flagging strategies for marking the recipient argument of ditransitive verbs.

1) The Double Object Construction (DOC): The most widespread construction to mark the recipient in Esfarvarini is the DOC in which the agent (A) is in direct case and T is marked by being in the oblique case. The recipient (R) is marked by being in the oblique case and mostly without using any adpositions. This construction is prototypically used with the verb 'give'. Another important feature of DOC is that T is usually before the verb and R tends to be placed after the verb. DOC can be shown as

A (Dir) T (Obl/Dir according to DOM) (in past sentences: =Cl_t) verb R (Obl).
Sentences in 2 below show examples of DOC in Esfarvarini:

- 2) a. hasan barra=š undā čemen.
PN:Dir.Ms spade:Obl.Fem=Cl_t:3sg give:Pst 1sg:Obl
“Hasan gave me a spade.”
b. em barra undi ahmad-e.
this spade:Obl.Fem give PN-Obl.Ms
“Give Ahmad this spade.”

2) The Indirect Object Construction (IOC): An alternative option for the DOC is the IOC which places both T and R before the verb but the postposition ‘rā’ (meaning: for / to) accompanies R. This situation can be shown as

A (Dir) R (Obl) PS T (Obl/Dir according to DOM)(in past sentences:= Cl_t) verb.
(3-a) shows the double object construction and (3-b) is its equivalent indirect object construction:

- 3) a. hasan barra=š undā ahmad-e.
PN:Dir.Ms spade:Dir.Fem=Cl_t:3sg give:Pst PN:Ms-Obl
“Hasan gave Ahmad a spade.”
b. hasan ahmad-e rā barra=š undā.
PN:Dir.Ms PN:Ms-Obl PS spade:Dir.Fem=Cl_t:3sg give:Pst
“Hasan gave a spade to Ahmad.”

In IOC, R tends to be placed before T and the Agent-referring clitics are always attached to T.
e.g.

- 4) a. hasan čeme-rā barra=š undā.
PN:Dir.Ms 1sg:Obl-PS spade:Dir.Fem=Cl_t:3sg give:Pst
“Hasan gave a spade to me.”
b. hasan kadxodā rā huč=eš hediye unedā.
PN:Dir.Ms headman PS nothing=Cl_t:3sg gift didn't give
“Hasan didn't give any gift to the headman.”

As figure 1 shows, Esfarvarini ditransitive constructions have neutral alignment in sentences containing salient P/Ts and this alignment has high tendency in this dialect.

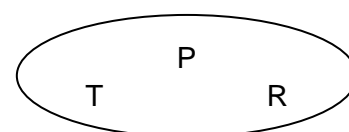


Figure 1: $T=m$ $P=m$ $R=m$

As both T and R are marked as oblique in a ditransitive construction, the word order and postposition ‘rā’ play important roles in distinguishing the arguments in these constructions.

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Competing ditransitive constructions: evidence from Enets³

OLESYA KHANINA & ANDREY SHLUINSKY

This is a corpus study of two ditransitive constructions in Enets (Samoyedic, Uralic): the standard ditransitive construction (1)-(2) and the so-called ‘destinative’ construction involving a specific ‘destinative’ nominal morpheme (3)-(6), common for all Northern Samoyedic languages. Both constructions can be used for ditransitive-like and benefactive semantics (we refer to (Malchukov et al. 2010) for a definition and characteristic semantic features of a ditransitive construction), so a question of their mutual distribution arises. This paper presents a detailed discussion of the two constructions, their corpus usage, and their respective frequency.

In the standard ditransitive construction, Enets marks the theme argument by one of the core cases, Nominative or Oblique (differential object marking), and the recipient or beneficiary argument is marked by the Dative case, see (1) and (2).

The cross-linguistically unusual ‘destinative’ construction consists of two elements: first, of a specific nominal inflectional ‘destinative’ affix that marks the presence of a recipient (3)-(4) or beneficiary (5) argument in a given clause, and second, of a possessive affix following the destinative affix, see (3) to (5), expressing the recipient or beneficiary argument itself. A more rare option of a separate possessive noun phrase expressing the recipient or beneficiary argument is also possible, see (6). In the ‘destinative’ construction – in contrast to the standard ditransitive constructions – the recipient or beneficiary noun phrase is an adnominal dependent of the theme argument with the destinative affix, and not of a semantically ditransitive verb itself.

We suggest that the distribution of the two competing constructions in Enets is based on referential status of the noun phrases involved.

Predetermined referentiality is the feature of the ‘destinative’ construction: the recipient/beneficiary NP is at least specific and most often definite, while the theme NP is at least indefinite and most often non-specific. Most frequently the recipient/beneficiary in the ‘destinative’ construction is expressed by a possessive marker on the theme noun with a ‘destinative’ affix, and in this case the definiteness and specificity of such a recipient or beneficiary are evident. However, in all cases where there is a separate recipient/beneficiary NP, it is also at least specific, cf. (7). On contrary, the theme NP is non-specific indefinite in (3) and specific indefinite in (4).

The ditransitive construction has no referentiality-based restrictions. Typically the ditransitive construction is used when the theme is definite, cf. (8), as well as (1) and (2). However other referentiality combinations are also possible, cf. (9) where both the theme and the recipient are non-specific.

- (1) *ŋɔbzaan* *prɔdaves* *nɛ-d* *pɛɛ-nʲʔ*
 PTCL seller woman-DAT.SG traditional_shoe-PL.1SG⁴

³ Enets has two dialects, Forest Enets and Tundra Enets. In the abstract we use only Forest Enets examples, but the paper is based on the joint data from both dialects consisting of ca. 32 hours of natural speech.

⁴ The following abbreviations are used: 1, 2, 3 – 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; CONJ – conjunctive; CONN – connegative; CONT – ‘contrastive’ series; CVB – converb; DAT – dative; DEST – destinative; DIM – diminutive; DU – dual; DUR – durative; EVEN – ‘even’ marker; FOC – focal marker; FUT – future; IMP – imperative; ipfv –

- miʔε-zʔ* *modi*
give(pfv)-1SG.S I
'And so I gave my shoes to the saleswoman.'
- (2) *buuse-d* *ker-ta* *batʔinki-za*
old_man-DAT.SG self-OBL.SG.3SG boot-NOM.PL.3SG
sɛrta-bi
tie(pfv)-PRF.3SG.S
'He put his own boots on the old man's feet.'
- (3) *sɔʒza* *kɔru-zo-nʔ* *ta-ʔ*
good knife-DEST.SG give-2SG.S.IMP
'Give me a good knife.'
- (4) *ʃee-xoɔ* *tʃezi-do-da* *miʔε-f*
who-EVEN lasso-DEST.SG-OBL.SG.3SG give(pfv)-3SG.S.PST
'Someone gave him a lasso.'
- (5) *ʃuzebitʃu-ku-zo-daʔ* *bazi-ta-zʔ*
tale-DIM-DEST.SG-OBL.SG.2PL tell(pfv)-FUT-1SG.S
'I will tell you (pl) a tale.'
- (6) *nʔe-d* *mɔrga-z* *kada-nʔi-d*
child-OBL.SG.2SG cloudberry-DEST.SG take_away(pfv)-CONJ-2SG.S
'Let you take cloudberry for your child.'
- (7) *ʃize* *ɛdʔuku* *kasa* *entʃe-giʔ* <...> *pɛda-f* *kanʔe-xiʔ*,
two young mate person-DU chop(ipfv)-CVB leave(pfv)-3DU.S
kɔdu-dʔiʔ *pɛ-z* *mɔturu-f*
sledge-OBL.PL.3DU wood-DEST.SG cut(ipfv)-CVB
'Two young guys <...> went to chop wood, to cut wood for their sledges.'
- (8) *ʃfuktʃi* *buniki-xiz* *miʔ-e-nʔitʃ*
all dog-DAT.PL give(pfv)-SOpl-1DU.SOnsg.PST
'We gave this all to dogs.'
- (9) *mɛzza-f* *entʃe-d* *ɔbu-xoɔ* *mi-tʃ*
be_on_visit(ipfv)-CVB person-DAT.SG what-FOC give(pfv)-CVB
nʔi-uʔ *tara-ʔ*
NEG-3SG.S.CONT necessary(ipfv)-CONN
'After all, one has to give something to such a visiting person.'

Ditransitive verbs with the double accusative in Ancient Greek

SILVIA LURAGHI & CHIARA ZANCHI

In Ancient Greek, ditransitive verbs mostly feature two constructions, the indirect object construction (indirective alignment in the terms of Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2010), and the double object construction or DOC, traditionally called double accusative (neutral alignment). Indirective alignment is typical of verbs of physical transfer, and also occurs in benefactive constructions (in the sense of Kittilä 2005). The double accusative occurs with various types of verb. In Homer, they can be divided into seven groups (see Jacquinod 1989):

a) verbs of hitting or touching, with which the two accusatives refer to a whole and its part, as in (1):

(1) *min iónta bále stêthos*
3SG.ACC go:PTCP.ACC hit:AOR.3SG breast:ACC

“(He) hit him in his breast as he was walking on.” (Il.4.480)

b) transitive verbs of directional motion, which take a direct object and a direction accusative, as in (2):

(2) *ktémata d' hóss' agómēn ... hēméteron dô*
good:ACC.PL PTC REL.ACC.PL bring:IMPF.1SG our:ACC home:ACC

“The goods that I brought from Argos to our home.” (Il.7.363)

c) transitive verbs with an additional cognate object, as in (3):

(3) *hòn... phílei Zeús t' aigiókhos*
REL.ACC love:IMPF.3SG Zeus:NOM PTC aegis.bearing:NOM
kai Apóllōn pantoíēn philótēt'
and Apollo:NOM of.all.sorts:ACC love:ACC

“Whom Zeus, who bears the aegis, and Apollo loved with all manner of love.”

(Od.15.245-246)

d) transitive verbs with a predicative complement, such as ‘call’, as in (4):

(4) *kotúlēn dé té min kaléousi*
cup:ACC PTC PTC 3SG.ACC call:PRES.3PL

“They call it cup.” (Il.5.306)

e) verbs of communication, as in (5):

(5) *Athēnaiēn épea pteróenta prosēúda*
Athena:ACC word:ACC.PL winged:ACC.PL speak.to:AOR.3SG

“She spoke winged words to Athena.” (Il.21.419)

f) causative verbs, as in (6):

(6) *anēr ídri, hòn Hēphaistos dédaen kai*
man:NOM skilful:NOM REL.ACC Hephestus:NOM teach:AOR.3SG and
Pallàs Athēnē tékhnēn pantoíēn
Pallas:NOM Athena:NOM craft:ACC of.all.sorts:ACC

“A skilful man, whom Hephaestus and Pallas Athena have taught all manner of craft.”

(Od.6.232-234)

g) verbs of removing, with which one of the two accusatives has the semantic role of maleficiary, as in (7):

(7) *emè mèn méga kûdos apheíleo*
1SG.ACC PTC great:ACC glory:ACC take.away.from:AOR.2SG.MID

“You have taken away from me a great glory.” (Il.22.18)

Arguably, given the different semantic status of the two objects, the above groups do not all feature the same construction: for example, (a) contains a special construction for inalienable

possession, which also appears elsewhere in Homer, verbs in (d) have a non-referential complement, and so on. Indeed, according to Malchukov *et al.* (2010), in languages in which the verb ‘give’ does not take DOC only two types of verbs can take it, that is our groups (f) and (g). In our paper we discuss the peculiarities of each verb group, including frequency, possible alternative constructions, constructions of semantically related verbs, passivization, participants features, in order to show the differences among various types of double accusative. We then take a diachronic perspective, and show that in Classical Greek only part of these constructions is still attested. We discuss this finding in the light of parameters of constructions productivity (see Barðdal 2008).

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Information-structural encoding of the recipient in non-canonical alignments of Persian

FARHAD MOEZZIPOUR

This paper aims to study the prepositional and postpositional flagging of recipient in the non-canonical ditransitive alignments of the Persian language within the account of Malchukov et al. (2010). To begin with, I argue that the determination of the alignment types in the ditransitive construction first and foremost hinges on the differential object marking (DOM) in the monotransitive alignment, in a way that the *ra*-marked object despite the formal marking is functionally regarded as unmarked due to being a high-prominent object with respect to topicality and topic-worthiness (Comrie 2003) along the lines of Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011). However, I show that the predilection concerning the association of the postposition *-ra* with the notion of secondary topic (Dabir-Moghaddam, 1992) is not empirically grounded, and the identifiability of the object referent indeed regulates *ra*-marking. Bearing this in mind, the *ra*-marked object counts as prototypical object, and the alignment behaviour of the recipient is investigated against it in the non-canonical alignments of the ditransitive construction.

According to alignments maps in Malchukov et al. (ibid), Persian is basically situated within the category of indirective languages, in which the recipient (R) of the ditransitive verb *dad-æn* 'to give' is treated differently from the patient (P) and theme (T), since it is flagged by the preposition *be-* in contrast to DOM of T and P as in (1).

(1) a. P=T: *-ra* & R= *be-* (Canonical alignment in the benefactive construction)

b. *mæn ketab-o be neda dad-æn.*

1SG book-RA to Neda give.PST-1SG

'I gave the book to Neda.'

Complexity arises when the recipient bears an identical marker akin to the theme and patient in clitic left-dislocation via which *-ra* mainly as a marker of topicality appears on the dislocated recipient, and its syntactic position is marked by a resumptive clitic, as demonstrated in (2). This potentially gives rise to a neutral alignment in line with Malchukov et al. (ibid); however, closer inspection reveals that the pronominal argument representing the grammatical function of the topical recipient is still an oblique core argument, marked by the preposition following the Principle of the Separation of Reference and Role (Lambrecht 1994). This illuminates the discourse-functional motivation underlying such grammatical structures in a comprehensible manner. Clitic left-dislocation serves as a topic promoting device through which a discourse referent with a not-yet-active information status is re-established as activated in a syntactic position outside the boundary of the clause, while its relational role as an argument is taken up by a resumptive pronoun. It is made clear that even though the recipient in clitic left-dislocation overrides the theme in topicality in spirit of *ra*-marking, its claim for the direct object position as predicted by Givon's (2001: 200) *hierarchy of topicality of semantic relations*, viz. agent> dative/benefactive> patient> locative> others, is not upheld. Put differently, clitic left-dislocation in Persian allows the recipient, which is ranked in terms of topicality lower than the theme/patient as opposed to the cross-linguistically different dialects of the semantic relations hierarchy (Bresnan and Kanervara 1989, Givon 1983, Van Valin 1993, inter alia), to outrank the theme, while it cannot claim for the object role, as the preposition *be-* hosting the pronominal argument flags it with reference to the oblique function. This observation confirms the indirective nature of the Persian language (as an A-principle language following Guerrero and Van Valin, 2004) in relation to the ditransitive construction.

(2) a. P=T=R: *-ra* (Non-canonical alignment in the benefactive construction)

b. *neda-ro mæn ketab-o be-š dad-æn.*

Neda-RA I book.RA to-PC.3SG give.PST-1SG

'As for Neda, I gave her the book.'

It should be noted that the outranking of the theme by the recipient in clitic left-dislocation is very interesting from a historical perspective. Haig (2007: 155) asserts that *-ra* started appearing on speech act (SAP) pronouns as obliques in the early Middle Persian period and then as an innovated object marker in the same period, and eventually was stabilized as DOM in Modern Persian. Given that, what happens in the non-standard Modern Persian is that obliques which are prototypically marked by prepositions in the standard Persian borrow the same marker, i.e. *-ra* from the direct object in order to be construed as topics.

Moreover, I assume that information-structurally there is a direct correlation between the prepositional and postpositional marking of the recipient at least in sentence-initial position (cf. (2&3)), such that the overriding of the theme and recipient by each other with respect to topicality brings about the concomitant adpositional marking, as demonstrated in (4). In the case of prepositional marking of the recipient, it is intimately associated with exhaustive focusing and, with topicality in the case of postpositional marking.

(3) *be neda mæn ketab-o dad-æm.*

to Neda I book-RA give.PST-1SG

'Neda I gave the book to.'

(4) a. If T>R (regarding topicality), then preposition-marking of R

b. If R>T (regarding topicality), then postposition-marking of R

As a consequence of the pragmatic alternation between the adpositional markings of the recipient in the sentence-initial position, there appears to be constructional schema according to which a Persian speaker is able to switch between the two markings when either of the two information-structural triggers, T>R and R>T is activated, which leads to the recipient-prominence/theme-figure or theme-prominence/recipient-figure construction from an information structure (Lambrecht 1994) and a cognitive point of view (Newman 1996). The grammatical interactions within each layer of the grammar of non-canonical alignments in the ditransitive construction are stored as a grammatical object (Nolan 2013), retrieved from the constructional repository once either of the triggers in (4) uniquely identifies the non-canonical alignment type in the ditransitive construction. To demonstrate the dimensions of this pragmatic alternation, I will utilize a Role and Reference Grammar framework (Van Valin, 2005).

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Ditransitive constructions in the Southern and Western dialects of Balochi, from a typological perspective

MARYAM NOURZAEI

This paper investigates ditransitive constructions in the Southern and Western dialects of Balochi, which belong to the so-called North-Western group of Iranian languages. I follow Malchukov et al. (2010) for framework and terminology: S=Subject, A=Agent, P=Patient, T=Theme, R=Recipient. These syntactic functions can be indicated by flagging (case or adpositional marking), by indexing (person and number cross-referencing), by word order, or by more than one of these strategies simultaneously. For intransitive and monotransitive verbs, possible alignments are accusative (A=S; P), neutral (A=S=P) and ergative (A; S=P). For ditransitive verbs, possible alignments are indirective (T=P; R), neutral (T=P=R) and secundative (P=R; T).

The language data used for Southern Balochi in this presentation are oral narratives (life stories, folktales and procedural texts) recorded from 15 male and female linguistic consultants aged between 40 and 80 with different social backgrounds between 2011 and 2014. The linguistic consultants are from the southern part of Iranian Balochistan. The language data for Western Balochi has been extracted from Barjasteh Delforooz (2010) and Axenov (2006).

The Southern dialect of Balochi has little contact with Persian and manifests split ergativity, with transitive verbs in the past temporal field presenting ergative alignment. Ergative alignment is absent in the Western dialects, which have more contact with Persian (also non-ergative). In ergative alignment A is in the oblique case and P in the direct case. Normally the verb is in the third singular form, but sometimes it agrees with P in number. In non-ergative alignment A is in the direct case and P in the oblique or object case; in this instance, the verb agrees with A in number and person.

In the Southern dialect the commonest markers of R are oblique case, object case (for pronouns only), direct case (only in ergative alignment), the preposition *be* or *pa*, the postposition *wāsta*, or a combination of *pa* and *wāsta*.

In both ergative and non-ergative alignment, animacy is the crucial factor to differential object marking for the R in ditransitive constructions. In ergative alignment when T is inanimate, A stands in the oblique case, and R in the oblique case or (if a pronoun) object case. The verb appears in two ways: either in 3rd singular form (Ex. 1) or agreeing in number with either T (Ex. 2) or R (Ex. 3). In the rare instances that all three arguments are animate nouns, A appears in the oblique case, T in direct case and R as the object of a preposition or postposition (Ex. 4).

In non-ergative alignment, A normally appears in the direct case. For an inanimate T, both T and R stand in the oblique or object case, as in (Ex. 5–6). For an animate T, R appears as the object of a preposition or postposition, with T in either object or oblique case, while the verb agrees with A in person and number, as in (Ex. 7).

The second part of the paper claims that ditransitive constructions in Western dialects always have non-ergative alignment. When T is inanimate A (if present) stands in the direct case, T and R are in the object case (Ex. 8); if all three arguments are animate, T appears in the object case, A in the direct case, and R with the object of a preposition (*pa* or *bi*). In both instances, the verb agrees with A in number and person (Ex. 9).

The paper concludes that DOM has not only been attested for T, but also exists for R both in the ergative and non-ergative domain. As in Bactrian (Middle Iranian; see Sims-Williams 2011), the non-ergative domain demonstrates neutral or indirective alignment, while the ergative domain manifests two types of indirective alignment, or when verb agreement is employed as the indexing strategy, neutral alignment, since also a P can be indexed through verb agreement.

Ex. 1

bāḏšāh-ā srōp dāt jaṇēn-a
 king-OBL apple give.PT.3SG woman-OBL
 The king gave the apple to (his) wife.

Ex. 2

jeṇek-ā dāt-ant=e
 girl- give.PT-3PL=PC.3SG
 OBL

The girl gave them to him.

Ex. 3

ēšīya warag dāt-ag-an
 EMP.DEM.OBL food give.PT.PP.3PL
 (When) he gave food to them (= the tradesmen).

Ex. 4

māta pa petā čok ārt
 mother-OBL for father-OBL child bring. PT.3SG
 The mother brought the child to the father

Ex. 5

mā ēšīā dah-ē čelīm-ā
 we DEM.PROX.OBL give.PR-1PL water.pipe-OBL
 We give the water pipe to him.

Ex. 6

tarā mā hazār kaldār-a dey-ō
 You.OBJ I one thousand NP-OBL give.PR-1SG
 I will give one thousand kaldār (a monetary unit) to you.

Ex. 7

Salīmā čok-ā pa Salīm-ā dant
 NP baby-OBL for NP-OBL give.PR.3SG.
 Salma gives the baby to Salim.

Ex. 8

am-ā čīz-ānā tī piss mnī pissā na-dant
 EMPH-DEM thing-PL.OBJ you.SG.GEN father I.GEN father.OBJ NEG-give.PR.3SG
 Your father does not give those things to my father.

Ex. 9

man āšix-ā bi āšix-ā baxšāt-a=un
 I lover-OBJ PER lover-OBL bestow.PST-PSTP=COP.PRS.1SG
 I give the beloved to the lover.

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Looking for Double Object Constructions in Romance and Basque

ANNA PINEDA

I. Goal: The aim of this talk is to restate the definition of the Double Object Construction pattern, by analyzing ditransitivity in Romance and in a typologically unrelated language such as Basque. Against the general trend, we don't try to prove the existence of Romance DOC by comparing it to the well-known English-like dative alternation, but we propose a new approach to Romance ditransitive constructions, which can also straightforwardly account for Basque ditransitives.

II. State of affairs: Though DOC had been traditionally considered absent in the Romance area (Kayne 1984), several researchers have defended that Spanish does have it (Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Romero 1997). More recently, and building on Pylkkänen's (2002) work, the same statement has been made again for Spanish (Cuervo 2003) as well as for other Romance languages, such as Romanian (Diaconescu & Rivero 2007) and Portuguese (Torres Morais & Moreira Lima Salles 2010). However, all these approaches insist on comparing Romance ditransitive constructions to English-like dative alternation, and as a consequence they are obliged to prove that Romance languages show exactly the same structural asymmetries detected in English.

III. First proposal: Identifying DOC in Romance. Several authors (Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Romero 1997, Cuervo 2003) defend that Spanish ditransitives with clitic are equivalent to English DOC (where IO c-commands DO) and those without clitic to English PC (where DO c-commands IO). However, we analyze in a very detailed way their examples and we base on new data from Catalan and Spanish to reject this equivalence. Instead, we will argue that Catalan and Spanish do have DOC but this construction may appear with or without dative clitic (or, more specifically, with this element phonologically full or null). In fact, in both languages the use of clitic seems to be a matter of dialectal variation with no direct consequences on c-command relations.

(1) Spanish DOC: *Juan (le) dio el libro a María*

Catalan DOC: *El Joan (li) donà el llibre a la Maria*

John (CL_{DAT}) gave the book a_{DAT} Mary

Then, Catalan and Spanish align with non-doubling Romance languages, such as French, for which DOC has been identified with the current ditransitive construction (Fournier 2010):

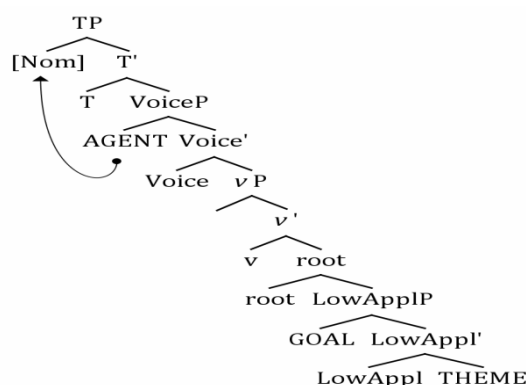
(2) French DOC: *Jean a donné le livre à Marie*

IV. Second proposal: Restating DOC cross-linguistically. Instead of identifying DOC on the basis of its contrast with respect to the prepositional paraphrase (PC) in English, we follow Fournier (2010) and propose to find out which are the truly inherent properties of the DOC pattern. With this less restrictive conception, it will be possible to detect DOC in a larger number of languages, crucially avoiding the (annoying) search for properties parallel to those found in English.

This way, we will show that asymmetric c-commanding relations between DO and IO do not constitute a sine qua non condition for universal DOC. Indeed, case-assignment differences across languages allow us to explain why English and Romance behave differently regarding frozen scope, binding of anaphors, passivization, etc.

Despite these differences, we will show that DOC in all languages can be derived from the very same structure wherein a Low Applicative head introduces the IO as its specifier and takes the DO as its complement, following Pylkkänen's (2002) proposal inspired in Bantu languages:

(3)



We distinguish two types of LowAppl heads: the Germanic-like and the Romance-like. The first one is found in English a.o. and it gives rise to a true double accusative construction (4). It assigns inherent accusative case to the Theme, whereas the Goal must move out to check structural accusative case. This is why the Goal can passivize, but not the Theme (5).

(4) *Mary gave* [ACC *John*] [ACC *the book*]

(5) a. *John was given the book*

b. **The book was given John*

The second one is found in Romance languages. It assigns inherent dative case to the Goal in its specifier, whereas the Theme must move out to check structural accusative case (6). This is why the Theme can passivize, but not the Goal (7):

(6) Catalan *El Joan (li) donà el llibre a la Maria*

Spanish *Juan (le) dio el libro a María*

French *Jean a donné le livre à Marie*

Italian *Gianni ha dato il libro a Maria*

(7) Catalan *El llibre (li) fou donat al Joan*

**El Joan (li) fou donat el llibre*

We will thus pursue the intuitions by some authors (Giorgi & Longobardi (1991) for Italian, Harley (2002) and Fournier (2010) for French, Bleam (2003) and De Pedro Munilla (2004) for Spanish, Doggett (2004) for Romance in general) regarding bidirectional c-commanding between DO and IO in Romance DOC.

Finally, basing on Elordieta's (2001) analysis of Basque DOC, we will argue that the Romance-like LowAppl is also found in this typologically unrelated language, suggesting that the Romance-like Appl label should be renamed as *dative-assigning Appl* –and the Germanic-like as *accusative-assigning Appl*. This way, our paper intends to be a contribution to the cross-linguistic study of ditransitivity and, in concrete, of the DOC pattern.

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Ditransitive constructions in Swahili

AGNIESZKA SCHÖNHOF-WILKANS

The following presentation aims at describing ditransitive constructions in Swahili, an African Bantu language. Swahili does not have an overt case marking, but the cross-referencing system of agreement and word order operate in an accusative system (cf. Blake 1994:120). Subject and object are marked on the verb and the basic word order is SVO. As far as ditransitive constructions are concerned, both the alignment of encoding and the alignment of passivization are of the secundative type (cf. Malchukov, Haspelmath, Comrie 2010:3, 27).

1. *Juma a-li-m-p-a Asha kitabu*
Juma Subj.3sg-Past-Obj.3sg-‘give’-Ind ‘book’
Juma gave Asha a book
2. *Asha a-li-p-ew-a kitabu na Juma*
Asha Subj.3sg-Past-‘give’-PASSIVE-Ind ‘book’ ‘by’ Juma
Asha was given a book by Juma
3. **Kitabu ki-li-p-ew-a Asha na Juma*
‘book’ Subj.Class7-Past-‘give’-PASSIVE-Ind Asha ‘by’ Juma
A book was given to Asha by Juma

The analysis of Swahili ditransitives will make use of the concepts of the general theory of diathesis (Bańczerowski 1993, 2001, 2006). The proposed framework assumes that the structure of events, being a semantic structure is reflected in sentences, which are morphosyntactic structures. Ditransitive constructions representing three-participant events are analysed by use of a categorical semantic schema determined by fusion of two diathetic meanings – transitivity and transmittivity.

Categorical semantic schemata are considered universal in our theory. Every such a schema is realized by a number of categorical morphosyntactic schemata which are language-specific. The main goal of this paper is to give an overview of morphosyntactic schemata that realize the meaning of transmittivity in Swahili with regard to ditransitive constructions.

Transmittivity is understood twofold in the adopted approach. In its pure (atomic) meaning only two participants are involved – emitter and receptor – without any object being emitted (e.g. *soldier serves the country*). However the meaning of transmittivity can be extended by an additional argument – emissive – that is the object being transmitted from the emitter to the receptor. Emitter, receptor and emissive correspond to the notions of agent, recipient and theme respectively (cf. Malchukov et al. 2010:3).

There seems to be only one ditransitive verb root in Swahili, namely *-p-* ‘give’, but ditransitive constructions are also realized by use of verbal derivational suffixes – causative, applicative or both as showed in 7 below:

4. *Juma a-na-m-l-ish-a keki mama yake*
Juma Subj.3sg-PRESENT-Obj.3sg-‘eat’-CAUSATIVE-Ind. ‘birthday cake’ ‘mom’ his
Juma is feeding birthday cake to his mom
5. *Juma a-li-m-pelek-e-a Asha barua*
Juma Subj.3sg-PAST-Obj.3sg-‘send’-APPLICATIVE-Ind ‘letter’
Juma sent Asha a letter

6. *Ahmed a-li-m-kope-sh-a Juma fedha*
Ahmed Juma Subj.3sg-PAST-Obj.3sg-‘borrow’-CAUSATIVE-Ind
Ahmet lent Juma some money
7. *Juma a-li-m-rudi-sh-i-a Ahmed fedha yake*
Juma Subj.3sg-PAST-Obj.3sg-‘return’-CAUSATIVE-APPLICATIVE-Ind ‘money’
his
Juma returned Ahmed his money

I argue that even if applicative or/and causative morpheme is attached to the verb (like in the examples above), the meaning of transitivity remains as long as the construction has two objects and the one expressing the receptor is marked on the verb. The receptor may thus be a recipient, a beneficiary (sometimes maleficiary) or both at a time. A certain amount of ambiguity is present in cases like the following one:

8. *Juma a-na-mw-andik-i-a mama barua*
Juma Subj.3sg-PRESENT-Obj.3sg-‘write’-APPLICATIVE-Ind ‘mother’ ‘letter’
Juma is writing a letter to/for his mother

The material for analysis is collected by means of interviews with Swahili native speakers.

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**Ditransitive Constructions in Mazandarani (of Sari, Ziyarat) and Gilaki (of Ramsari),
The verb *hedāen* ‘to give’
GUITI SHOKRI**

The goal of this presentation is to investigate ditransitive constructions in two variants of Mazandarani, i.e. Sari (S) and Ziyarat (Z), spoken in central Mazandaran and Golestan Provinces and in one variant of Gilaki, Ramsari (RA) spoken in westernmost Mazandaran, Iran. The language data is based on field work conducted in Iran during the past twenty years and recent interviews with linguistic consultants.

A ditransitive verb can be defined as a verb which takes a subject and two objects which refer to a theme and a recipient (Van Valin, 2001: 24). These objects may also be called direct and indirect. Typical ditransitive verb meanings are ‘give’, ‘sell’, ‘bring’ (denoting physical transfer of the theme to the recipient), and ‘show’, ‘tell’ (mental transfer) (Malchukov et al. 2010).

The general conclusion that can be drawn from this study is:

In Mazandarani (S and Z), as our examples show the verb *hedāen* ‘to give’ is used as a ditransitive construction, both theme (T) and recipient (R) take *=re, =e* as marker when both of them are definite, but when T is indefinite, it does not take the *-re* marker (Differential object marking, DOM). The word order also varies based on definiteness of the T. The default word order is that T follows the R when indefinite (Ex. 1.a.; Ex. 3) and precedes it when it is definite (Ex. 1.b.). For focus marking, however, the R can precede a definite T (Ex. 1.c) and for amplification it can also follow the verb (Ex. 1.d.). There is no difference in the marking of T and R when they are both animate (Ex. 2.a.; Ex. 2.b.). Note also that *he-* is a prefix in the S dialect, while it is a preverb in the Z dialect (see Shokri et al. 2013: 36) and also in RA.

- Ex.1.a. *mere gol he-dā* (S)
PRON.1SG.OBJ flower PREF-give.PST.3SG
He gave me flowers.
- Ex.1.b. *ketāb=re mere he-dā* (S)
book=OBJ PRON.1SG.OBJ PREF-give.PST.3SG
He gave me the book.
- Ex.1.c. *tere pul=re he-dā* (S)
PRON.2SG.OBJ money=OBJ PREF-give.PST.3SG
Was it to you that he gave the money?
- Ex.1.d. *man čašm me-d-em tere* (Z)
PRON.1SG OK PREF.IMP-give.PRS-1SG PRON.2SG.OBJ
OK, I will give (them, in this context ‘the cows’) to you.
- Ex.2.a. *xodā Sakine=re vače he-dā* (S)
God N=OBJ child PREF-give.PST.3SG
God gave a child/children to Sakine.
- Ex.2.b. *ve še kijā=re me rikā=re he-dā* (S)
PRON.3SG daughter=OBJ PRON.1SG.GEN son=OBJ PREF-give.PST.3SG
He gave his daughter (in marriage) to my son.

- Ex. 3. *ušān=e pul he-dā* (Z)
 PRON.3PL=OBJ money PREV-give.PST.3SG
 He gave them money.

These phenomena are observed also in RA, but here we have *=ra*, *=a*, *=e*, *=ya* as T-markers (Ex. 4a, 4b, 5) (Shokri 2006: 55).

- Ex. 4.a. *mi mardek=a qazā ha-d-am* (RA)
 PRON.1SG.GEN husband=OBJ food PREV-give.PST-1SG
 I gave my husband food.

- Ex. 4.b. *i qazā=ya mi mardek=a ha-d-am* (RA)
 DEM.PROX food=OBJ PRON.1SG.GEN husband-OBJ PREV-give.PST-1SG
 I gave this food to my husband.

- Ex. 5. *ān xošte kijā=ya mi vačā ha-da* (RA)
 DEM.DIST REFL daughter=OBJ PRON.1SG.GEN son.OBJ PREV-give.PST.3SG
 She gave her daughter (in marriage) to my son.

Contrary to Sims-Williams' (2011) findings for Bactrian, there is no DOM for the R in my data. The marking of R is invariably the same, and word order or context distinguish T from R when both are animate. Marking of ditransitive clauses show neutral alignment, since the marking of the patient (P) in monotransitive clauses is the same as that of T and R.

Note that all the linguistic variants described here have accusative alignment in the past tense for transitive verbs like Persian, but unlike many other Iranian languages. It is noteworthy that, although in other areas under Persian influence, the varieties under study here do not demonstrate any adposition constructions for R. (Modern Persian employs a preposition construction for R.)

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Alignment of ditransitive constructions in Tocharian

PAUL WIDMER

Tocharian, an extinct Indo-European language spoken during the Buddhist era in the Tarim Basin (modern Western China), has a well developed case system counting not less than nine morphologically distinct cases (nominative, obliquus, genitive, instrumental, perlativ, comitative, allative, ablative, locative). What is missing, though, is a case of its own for the most goal-like or ground-like participant in a three-participant construction (for terminology cf. Bickel 2010, van Lier 2012, Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2010), comparable to the case labeled ‘dative’ in the descriptions of many languages. This is not only a notable exception to Blake’s (2001) implicational prediction that a language with locational cases (locative, ablative) will also have a dative-like case. Of course, the lack of a dative case also has a major impact on the encoding of G arguments. Several strategies are available to encode such arguments in Tocharian.

In the prototypical ditransitive constructions of the ‘give’ type, the G argument takes genitive case, cf. E1.

- E1 *aśrāddhets* *katkauñ(e)* *aiṣṣām*
 unbeliever.GEN.PL joy.OBL gives
 ‘he gives joy to the unbelievers’

Besides this G=POSS alignment of a human referent represented by a noun, other options involve indexing of highly accessible G arguments on the verb E2.1. In Tocharian, as a rule, only one non-S/A referent can be indexed on the verb, and in monotransitive constructions it is usually the O argument that is referenced in this way. If in a ditransitive construction both, the T and the G argument, are highly accessible indexing seems to be restricted to the G argument. It is noteworthy that in such cases the G argument may be subject to some kind of topic drop (E2.2).

- E2.1 *kuse* *pi ksa* *ayi=ne* *pelaikne*
 who anyone would.give.3SG=3SGlaw
 ‘would anyone give him the law?’

- E2.2 *mā* *aiskau=c*
 NEG I.give=2SG
 ‘I don’t give (it) to you (viz. the afore mentionned coat)’

Communication verbs of the ‘tell, say’ and ‘send’ type display a different pattern. Here, the G argument takes the allative case (E3.1), which gives a G=ALL alignment. Alternatively, the G argument takes the genitive case (G=POSS alignment) and may even be cross-referenced on the verb (E3.2). Even allative case may be encoded in such contexts (=ne-ś 3SG-ALL).

- E3.1 *ce ślok* *weña* *poyši* *cmelasontsoycces*
 this stanza told omniscient sateless-for-lives.PL.ALL
 ‘the Omniscient recited this stanza to the ones who are sateless for lives’
- E3.2 *poyšint(s)e_j* *te* *wñā=ne_j*
 omniscient.GEN.SG that told=3SG
 ‘he told that to the omniscient’

Derived ditransitives add the neutral P=G=T alignment pattern (E4.2) and indexing seems, again, to be confined to G arguments (E4.2).

- E4.1 *kuse wesāñ kekamor lant śarsäṣṣi*
 who 1PL.GEN arrival.OBL king.OBL would.let-know
 ‘Who will announce our arrival to the king?’
- E4.2 *te śārsa=me pudnäkte*
 this let-know=PL Buddha
 ‘the Buddha let them see this’

In my paper I will give a full statistical account of ditransitive constructions in (West) Tocharian and address the following topics:

- How do referential properties of single referents influence the choice of alternative alignment patterns?
- How do arguments interact with their co-arguments in argument realization (scenario)?
- How do the different semantics of the specific construction types act as condition on the argument realization?

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3-valency verbs constructions: the competition of parameters (the case of Bantu and Adamawa, Niger Congo)

ALEXANDER ZHELTOV

1. Object indexation in Bantu have been attracting the interest of rather many scholars. The Bantu languages demonstrate different strategies of object indexation which depend on such parameters as syntactic function, pragmatic status, position of NP in the animacy hierarchy (deictic hierarchy). The occurrence and the order of object indexes can be explained by the combination of these factors. In the presentation these factors are analyzed for constructions with 3-valency verbs and pronominal participants. For Swahili only one object index is possible, while in Kinyarwanda the verb can include indexes for both Patient (Theme) and Receptient. Swahili in general prefers to use the position of verbal object index for Patient/Theme, but the influence of animacy (deictic) hierarchy can be observed in some examples:

If patient/theme is animated/human the indexation is obligatory, otherwise – facultative (for – *peleka* «to send»):

Ni-li-m-peleka mwanafunzi kwake. But * *Ni-li-Ø-peleka mwanafunzi kwake.*

1SG-PAST-OBJ.HUM-send a student to him/her»

Ni-li-ki-peleka kitabu kwake. = *Ni-li-Ø-peleka kitabu kwake.*

1SG-PAST-OBJ.INAN-send a book to him

If both the patient/theme and the addressee/recipient are pronouns verbal index points to the patient/theme (without applicative suffix):

A-li-ni-onyesha kwako

3SG-PAST-1SG.OBJ-show to you.

However if the Receptient is 1 or 2 Sg and patient/theme is 3 Pl and is expressed by Demonstrative the indexation of Receptient is possible even without applicative suffix:

A-li-ni-onyesha hao.

3SG-PAST-1SG.OBJ-show those (people).

So, for Swahili: if the rank of Receptient is substantially higher than that of patient/theme it can be indexed in the verb even without applicative suffix; if the rank is equal patient/theme is indexed.

Hence, for Swahili: patient/theme > recipient, personal pronouns > nouns/demonstratives

For Kinyarwanda absolutely different strategy is used, the influence of animacy (deictic) hierarchy being much more important. Recipient occurs closer to the stem than Patient (Theme) when the hierarchical status of actants is equal, but animacy/deictic dimension is more important than semantic role:

A-za-ba-ny-ereka

3SG-FUT-3PL.Receptient-2SG.Theme –show = 3SG-FUT-3PL.Theme-2SG.Receptient –show

He will show you to them. = He will show them to you.

It is the hierarchical status of pronouns that determines the order of verbal indexes, but not the semantic role.

So, Bantu languages vary greatly in choosing strategies of object indexation for 3-valency verbs, but surface syntactic structures can not be adequately understood if to ignore the influence of animacy (deictic) hierarchy, though the degree of it is different.

2) As for Adamawa languages, they are one of the Niger-Congo least described families. Here the field analysis of 3-valency verbs with pronominal participants in the Maya and Nyong languages of Mumuye-Yendang and Leko groups is presented.

Maya:

• Patient/Theme (Noun) + Addressee (Noun):

D̥ɔ̃ɔ̃daŋ toŋne b̥ãdaŋ-ŋe men nsedaŋ

The man show the child-Obj to the woman

- Addressee (Pronoun) + Patient/Theme (Noun):

A toŋne-m bàadaŋ-(ŋe)

He show-(to)me the child

- Patient/Theme (Pronoun) + Addressee (Noun):

A toŋne-m men bàadaŋ

He show-me to the child

- Patient/Theme (Pronoun) + Addressee (Pronoun):

A toŋne-m mèn-é

He show-me to-you(sg)

- When Patient/Theme is equal or higher in animacy hierarchy than Addressee: O + men + A
- When Addressee is higher in animacy hierarchy than Patient/Theme: A + O
- Both Patient/Theme and Addressee pronouns can be an object marker in the verb
- *Men* “to” can have a sort of “agreement” with pronominal addressee

Nyong:

- Addressee (Noun) + Patient/Theme (Noun):

Nɛvɛnkò isi nɛkenkò wàkò

The man show to the woman the child

- Addressee (Pronoun) + Patient/Theme (Noun):

Yo isi-n wàkò

He show-(to)me the child

- Addressee (Noun) + Patient/Theme (Pronoun)

Yo isi wàkò má

He show to the child me

- Addressee (Pronoun) + Patient/Theme (Pronoun)

Yo isi-m má

He show-(to)you(sg) me

- Addressee always occurs before Patient/Theme
- Only pronominal Addressee can appear as agreement marker in the verb
- No special mark for “to”
- Roles are determined by word order (Addressee first rule)

So, here we can also see different strategies for 3 valency verb constructions in related languages. The difference is observed for both the direction of role hierarchy (Patient/Theme > Addressee – Maya, Addressee > Patient/Theme – Nyong) and formal means of marking (ditransitive in Nyong, direct/indirect in Maya).

General conclusions:

1. Substantial distinctions in 3-valency verb constructions in related Niger-Congo languages.
2. Surface morphosyntactic structures are influenced by not just role hierarchy, but animacy (deictic) hierarchy as well.

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Ditransitives in Modern Greek: options and constraints

EKATERINA ZHELTOVA

In this study the three-valence predicates with two pronominal objects have been investigated on the data collected from native-speakers with the help of two questionnaires. The theoretical basis for the analysis of the results was the theory of simultaneous effect that conduct the syntactic, pragmatic and animacy (deictic) hierarchies on the word order in such structures.

It's well known that in many languages some of the possible combinations of pronouns are restricted.

Modern Greek has a rather complicated pronominal system with the two sets of personal pronouns – the “full” or “stressed” pronouns and the bound (clitic) pronouns. Such a system allows a lot of possible combinations in ditransitives, the one with two bound pronouns (which means also topicalized pronouns) being the most “harmonic” and frequent one. However in some cases this combination is not an option due to some constraints:

<i>*Mov</i>	<i>σε</i>	<i>δείχνει</i>
<i>1SG.GEN</i>	<i>2SG.ACC</i>	<i>show:PRS.ACT.3SG</i>

<i>*Σου</i>	<i>με</i>	<i>δείχνει</i>
<i>2SG.GEN</i>	<i>1SG.ACC</i>	<i>show:PRS.ACT.3SG</i>

<i>*Του</i>	<i>με</i>	<i>δείχνει</i>
<i>3SG.GEN</i>	<i>1SG.ACC</i>	<i>show:PRS.ACT.3SG</i>

<i>*Του</i>	<i>σε</i>	<i>δείχνει</i>
<i>3SG.GEN</i>	<i>2SG.ACC</i>	<i>show:PRS.ACT.3SG</i>

So the restricted ones are the combinations of two locutor bound pronouns and the combinations where the 3-rd person clitic precedes the 1-st or 2-nd person clitic.

It may be also mentioned that the questionnaires have demonstrated that the other combinations obtain different degrees of “frequency”. For example, in the situation when two clitics are not possible, the most of the subjects preferred to put the patient pronoun in clitic and topicalized position but not the recipient pronoun while filling in the questionnaire where they were asked to insert any combination of full or bound pronouns they want.

It may also be noticed that they chose the option with two clitics more often when it was the combination of 1-st and 3-rd person but not of 2-nd and 3-rd person.

The incorrectness of the restricted combinations can be explained if we accept that the word order is influenced by the syntactic hierarchy and the animacy hierarchy, the pragmatic hierarchy playing its role only if the harmony of the two first hierarchies is not violated.

The specific ways of functioning of these hierarchies in Modern Greek is complicated by the syntactic characteristics of the language, such as the difference in word order for elements marked synthetically and the ones marked analytically.

In this presentation we investigate how these specific mechanisms function and try to measure the “paradigmatic force” of the pronouns to illustrate how the hierarchies interact.

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Verb argument structure in Latin: competition of paradigmatic dimensions

ELENA ZHELTOVA

The position of Direct and Indirect Object (Patient/Addressee in terms of semantic roles) used with Latin ditransitive verbs may be different: Patient can forego Addressee or vice versa (PA/AP), so the problem to be solved is: what is the neutral verb argument order and what properties of the arguments or, perhaps, other reasons can cause the deviations from neutral order.

As a language with syntactically free word order, Latin has verb argument structure determined not only by semantic roles, but also by two other paradigmatic dimensions, i.e. pragmatic and deictic (like in Russian [Zheltov 2010]). For the purpose of this presentation it is very important, that deictic properties of NP can depend on the degree of agency, or on the level occupied by the denotatum of NP in animacy hierarchy [Silverstein 1976, Croft 1990, Yamamoto 1999]. Presumably, verb argument structure seems to be the result of interaction of all three dimensions.

To prove this hypothesis we used well-known electronic data base PHI-5 and examined all occurrences of ditransitive verb *mitto* “to send” in 3 Gg. Perf. Ind.Act. (i.e. *misit* “he/she sent”) and some other verbs.

From a huge number of sentences provided with the data base, we selected a rather small number of proper units, in which ditransitive verbs were accompanied with both Direct and Indirect Object, the clause being non subordinate. Thus, only 97 out of 500 sentences containing *misit* satisfied the conditions. They were divided into three groups according to the character of the participants (i.e. nouns or pronouns):

- 1) combinations of two nouns (44 clauses),
- 2) combinations of nouns and personal pronouns (50 clauses),
- 3) combinations of two personal pronouns (3 clauses).

1. To solve the problem of neutral verb argument order we selected clauses with Patient and Addressee expressed by nouns non differing in animacy (23 out of 44 units in the first group). They showed that neutral argument order in Latin is PA (18 PA vs. 5 AP). If we take into account the constructions with both animate and inanimate participants, the result appears to be similar: 31 PA vs. 13 AP. Both results demonstrate the domination of semantic role dimension, although animacy does influence the choice of the position to a certain extent, too: it turned out, that the Addressee is animate in 12 occurrences of deviant AP-combination, and in 8 such occurrences it is accompanied with inanimate Patient.

2. The statistics of noun/ pronoun combinations in the second group is much more impressive in a sense of animacy/deictic hierarchy: the first position is occupied with personal pronouns in 41 out of 50 clauses, and in 33 of them the priority is given to the Addressee! The putting forward of personal pronouns and deviant argument order (AP) with pronoun in role of Addressee can be explained by the higher position of personal pronouns in animacy hierarchy, hence the second group demonstrates the domination of deictic dimension in the constructions with nouns and personal pronouns.

3. The third group includes different combinations of personal pronouns. As these constructions with *misit* are extremely rare (just 3 occurrences), the group was extended due to some other verbs (*addo* “to add”, *antepono* “to prefer”, *offero* “to offer”, *ostendo* “to show” etc.). First, we examined combinations of the first/second person pronouns (so called locutors, or speech-act participants), which in most languages occupy equal position in animacy hierarchy. The most frequent combinations of pronouns in their proportion to each other turned out to be the following: *me tibi: tibi me* “me to you (Sg.): to you (Sg.) me” = 31:13, *te mihi: mihi te* “you (Sg.) to me: to me you (Sg.)” = 38:17, *me vobis: vobis me* “me to you (Plur.): to you (Plur.) me” = 10:1, *vos mihi: mihi vos* “you (Plur.) to me: to me you

(Plur.)” = 3:0. All these combinations demonstrate strong domination of the semantic dimension over pragmatic and deictic ones, the argument order in these constructions being neutral (PA). The exception is represented by two combinations: *te nobis: nobis te* “you (Sg.) to us: to us you (Sg.)” = 10:0, *nos tibi: tibi nos* “us to you (Sg.): to you (Sg.) us” = 0:2. The statistics of this two combinations seems paradoxical at the first glance, because the second person locutors dominate over the first person ones. The point, however, is not in the person, but in the number: the plural number can weaken the degree of animacy, that’s why in some languages plural forms of pronouns occupy the lower level in animacy hierarchy, than the singular forms [Yamamoto 1999: 99-100].

As for the combinations of locutors with non-locutors, the situation is rather different. The first person pronoun apparently tends to occupy the first position regardless of its semantic role (*me illi: illi me* “me to him/her: to him/her me” = 5:0, *illum mihi: mihi illum* “him to me: to me him” = 1:2), because it is situated on a higher level in animacy hierarchy. However the statistics of second/third person pronouns (*te illi: illi te* “you (Sg.) to him/her: to him/her you (Sg.)” = 2: 3, *illum tibi: tibi illum* “him to you (Sg.): to you (Sg.) him” = 6:1) shows the domination of pragmatic dimension over the deictic one: the matter is that the pronouns like *ille* “he” are anaphoric, and they show a strong tendency to be placed in first position [Jong, 1989: 524].

General conclusion: the neutral verb argument order in Latin is PA (Patient-Addressee), and the deviations from the neutral order are often determined by the competition of above-mentioned dimensions - without taking into consideration possible influence of metric and rhetorical factors in the related texts, but that is the subject matter of another presentation.

As a by-product of this observation we can represent a kind of “Latin animacy hierarchy”:

first person singular locutor
second person singular locutor
plural locutors
third person pronouns
animate nouns
inanimate nouns

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